

## 1. The Buddha vs. Kamma

This is just an advertisement for the excellent article on a major discrepancy between the *Apadāna Pāḷi* and *Milindapañhā*.<sup>1</sup> Is it possible, that ven. Nāgasena, the main Dhamma teacher of the book *Milindapañhā* was wrong about the nature of the Buddha?

*Milindapañhā* - 4. Meṇḍakapañho - 1. Iddhibalavaggo - 8. Akusalacchedanapañho -

*‘‘Itipi, mahārāja, na sabbā vedanā kammavipākajā, sabbam, mahārāja, akusalam jhāpetvā bhagavā sabbaññutam pattoti evametam dhārehi’’ti.*

"Thus, great king, not all (unpleasant) feelings arise as a consequence of previous deeds. Great king, the Exalted One destroyed all what is unskillful and attained the omniscience, understand it as such."

In other words, ven. Nāgasena explains to the king Milinda, that the Buddha had no more suffering based on previous deeds, after attaining Buddhahood. Whatever sickness (e.g. by Devadatta) or disgrace (e.g. by Ciñcamāṇavikā) that ever the Buddha encountered – that all was caused by external causes, not by His previous *kamma*.

*Apadānapāḷi* - 39. Avaṭṭaphalavaggo - 10. Pubbakammapilotikabuddhaapadānam

66. *"Suṇātha bhikkhavo mayham, yaṃ kammaṃ pakataṃ mayā;  
Pilotikassa kammaṃ, buddhattepi vipaccati*

"Listen, monks, how my (previous) deeds (/kamma) have turned out for me,  
By the strand of kamma, even as a Buddha (those deeds) bring (their) result."

According to *Apadāna Pāḷi*, the eleven circumstances when the Buddha when through unpleasant experience, were all caused by deeds in the past. This would be in direct contradiction to the statement of ven. Nāgasena. In modern Buddhist culture, these eleven causes are very famous, and thus the teachings of *Apadāna* is preferred over the explanation of ven. Nāgasena. In fact, *Milindapañhā* was not accepted as part of the main *Tiṭṭhaka*, the Buddhist bible, until the Sixth Buddhist Council - and it was especially Sinhalese monks who opposed such inclusion. However, the Pāḷi Commentaries as we have them today, have taken the book *Milindapañhā* for a valuable source of information, and we can find numerous references to *Milindapañhā* in several books of the *Pāḷi Aṭṭhakathā*.

This however doesn't mean, that all of the scripture of *Milindapañhā* is condemned. Many explanations of ven. Nāgasena, such as that no little rules of Vinaya should be abolished – and the Buddha's suggestion to do so was only to test His disciples; or the ten "donations" which lead to hell – such as dance, animals, and weapons; the sixteen impediments of having hair; rejecting Commentaries and teachings of teachers, as well as one's own idea, in case if it is not in line with the main *Tiṭṭhaka*, and

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<sup>1</sup> "The Buddha's Bad Karma: A Problem in the History of Theravada Buddhism", Jonathan S. Walters, (in "Numen", Vol. 37, Fasc. 1. (Jun., 1990), pp. 70-95), should be available from <http://www.jstor.org> .

many other, are well known today among educated Buddhist monks and much spoken of during their Dhamma talks.

The commentary to *Milindapañhā*, known as "*Milindapañhā Aṭṭhakathā*", authored by the Jetavana Sayadaw, the teacher of Mahāsi Sayadaw, and published in Myanmar in 1949, contains the explicit urge to ordain Bhikkhunis in the modern time, including an inelaborate evidence from the Pāli scriptures. The evidence is however not taking into account the teachings of Pāli Sub-Commentaries for *Vinaya Piṭaka*, which were later used to deny the revival of Bhikkhunis, by the Burmese State Saṅgha-Mahā-Nāyaka Council. *Milindapañhā Aṭṭhakathā* is no more available in Myanmar Tipiṭaka book-stores, and that may be explained by the simple fact that it may cause a turmoil in the modern setting of Buddhist community. Bhikkhu Bodhi has translated the relevant pages of the Pāli *Milindapañhā Aṭṭhakathā* in English, in his paper "The Revival of Bhikkhuni Ordination in the Theravāda Tradition", written perhaps in 2007.

## 2. A Story of Relics

<i>Dhātuthūpapūjāvaṇṇanā</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>English Translation by Yang-Gyu An</i> <sup>3</sup>
<b><i>Evamevaṃ bhūtapubbanti</i></b>	<b>This was how it used to be:</b>
<i>evaṃ etaṃ dhātubhājanāñceva dasathūpakaraṇaṇica jambudīpe bhūtapubbanti pacchā saṅgītikāraṇā āhaṃsu.</i>	This was how the division of the relics and building of the ten monuments used to be in Jambudīpa; so they said later at the communal recital.
<i>Evaṃ patiṭṭhitesu pana thūpesu mahākassapatthero dhātūnaṃ antarāyaṃ disvā rājānaṃ ajātasattum upasaṅkamitvā "mahārāja, ekaṃ dhātunidhānaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭati"ti āha.</i>	Thus when the monuments were built, Mahākassapa Thera saw the danger to the relics and came up to Ajātasattu and said, "Great king, it is proper to make a single deposit of the relics."
<i>Sādhu, bhante, nidhānakammaṃ tāva mama hotu, sesadhātuyo pana kathaṃ āharāmi?</i>	"Good, sir, let it be my work to deposit them. But how am I to have them brought?"
<i>Na, mahārāja, dhātuāharaṇaṃ tuyhaṃ bhāro, amhākaṃ bhāroti. Sādhu, bhante, tumhe dhātuyo āharatha, ahaṃ dhātunidhānaṃ karissāmi.</i>	"It is not your duty, Great King, to have the relics brought, but our duty." "Good, sir, you bring them. I will deposit them."
<i>Thero tesam tesam rājakulānaṃ paricaraṇamattameva ṭhapetvā sesadhātuyo āhari.</i>	The elder took all of them except only for enough relics for the various royal families to worship.
<i>Rāmagāme pana dhātuyo nāgā pariggaṇhiṃsu, tāsam antarāyo natthi.</i>	The Nāgas, however, took over the relics at Rāmagāma. Thinking, "There is no more danger to them."
<i>"Anāgate laṅkādiṇi mahāvihāre mahācetiyaṃhi nidahissanti"ti tā na āharitvā sesehi sattahi nagarehi āharitvā rājagahassa pācīnadakkhiṇadisābhāge ṭhatvā – "imasmim ṭhāne yo pāsāṇo atthi, so antaradhāyatu, paṃsu suvisuddhā hotu, udakaṃ mā uṭṭhahatū"ti adhiṭṭhāsi.</i>	In the future they will be deposited in the Mahācetiya in the Mahāvihāra in Lankādīpa [i.e. Sri Lanka]", he did not take them out. After taking the relics from the other seven cities, he stood on a spot south-east of Rājagaha and made a resolution: "Let any rocks which are in this place disappear. Let the soil be clean. Let water not spring up."

<sup>2</sup> *Dīgha Nikāya (Aṭṭhakathā) – Mahāvagga-Aṭṭhakathā - 3. Mahāparinibbānasuttavaṇṇanā - Dhātuthūpapūjāvaṇṇanā – par. 240*

<sup>3</sup> "*The Buddha's Last Days – Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*", Yang-Gyu An, PTS, Oxford, 2005; p.219-225. I have omitted the footnotes to avoid copyright issues and to encourage purchase of the original book.

<i>Rājā taṃ ṭhānaṃ khaṇāpetvā tato uddhatapaṃsunā iṭṭhakā kāretvā asītimahāsāvakānaṃ cetiyāni kāreti.</i>	The king had the spot dug and had bricks made of the soil which was dug out from there, and had monuments built for the eighty great disciples.
<i>"Idha rājā kiṃ kāreti"ti pucchantānampi "mahāsāvakānaṃ cetiyāni"ti vadanti, na koci dhātunidhānabhāvaṃ jānāti.</i>	If people asked, "What is the king having made here?", they replied, "Monuments for the eighty great disciples." No one knew about the depositing of the relics.
<i>Asītihaṭṭhagambhīre pana tasmim padese jāte heṭṭhā lohasanthāraṃ santharāpetvā tattha thūpārāme cetiyagharappamāṇaṃ tambalohamayaṃ gehaṃ kārapetvā aṭṭha aṭṭha haricandanādimaye karaṇḍe ca thūpe ca kārāpesi.</i>	When the site had been dug to a depth of eighty cubits, he had a layer of iron spread underneath, and upon it had a house made of copper the size of the Cetiaghara at the Thūpārāma built, and had eight boxes and eight <i>stūpas</i> made of yellow sandalwood and so forth.
<i>Atha bhagavato dhātuyo haricandanakaraṇḍe pakkhipitvā taṃ haricandanakaraṇḍakampi aññasmim haricandanakaraṇḍake,</i>	Then they enshrined the relics of the Blessed One in a box made of yellow sandalwood and then enshrined the box made of yellow sandalwood in another such box, and that in another;
<i>tampi aññasminti evaṃ aṭṭha haricandanakaraṇḍe ekato katvā eteneva upāyena te aṭṭha karaṇḍe aṭṭhasu haricandanathūpesu, aṭṭha haricandanathūpe aṭṭhasu lohitaandanakaraṇḍesu,</i>	Thus they put the eight boxes made of yellow sandalwood together in one. In the same way they enshrined the eight boxes in eight <i>stūpas</i> made of yellow sandalwood; and then they enshrined the eight <i>stūpas</i> made of yellow sandalwood in eight boxes made of red sandalwood;
<i>aṭṭha lohitaandanakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu lohitaandanathūpesu, aṭṭha lohitaandanathūpe aṭṭhasu dantakaraṇḍesu, aṭṭha dantakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu dantathūpesu,</i>	The eight boxes made of red sandalwood in eight <i>stūpas</i> made of red sandalwood; the eight <i>stūpas</i> made of red sandalwood in eight boxes made of ivory; the eight boxes made of ivory in eight <i>stūpas</i> made of ivory;
<i>aṭṭha dantathūpe aṭṭhasu sabbaratanakaraṇḍesu, aṭṭha sabbaratanakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu sabbaratanathūpesu, aṭṭha sabbaratanathūpe aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇakaraṇḍesu, aṭṭha suvaṇṇakaraṇḍe, aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇathūpesu, aṭṭha suvaṇṇathūpe aṭṭhasu rajatakaraṇḍesu,</i>	The eight <i>stūpas</i> made of ivory in eight boxes made of all sorts of jewels; the eight boxes made of all sorts of jewels in eight golden boxes; the eight golden boxes in eight golden <i>stūpas</i> ; the eight golden <i>stūpas</i> in eight silver boxes;
<i>aṭṭha rajatakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu rajatathūpesu, aṭṭha rajatathūpe, aṭṭhasu maṇikaraṇḍesu, aṭṭha maṇikaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu maṇithūpesu, aṭṭha maṇithūpe aṭṭhasu lohitaṇikakaraṇḍesu, aṭṭha lohitaṇikakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu lohitaṇikathūpesu,</i>	The eight silver boxes in eight silver <i>stūpas</i> ; the eight silver <i>stūpas</i> in eight boxes made of gems; the eight boxes made of gems into eight <i>stūpas</i> made of gems;; the eight <i>stūpas</i> made of gems into eight boxes made of rubies;
<i>aṭṭha lohitaṇikathūpe aṭṭhasu masāragallakaraṇḍesu, aṭṭha masāragallakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu masāragallathūpesu, aṭṭha masāragallathūpe aṭṭhasu phalikakaraṇḍesu, aṭṭha phalikakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu phalikamayathūpesu pakkhipi.</i>	The eight <i>stūpas</i> made of rubies in eight boxes made of cat's-eyes; the eight boxes made of cat's-eyes in eight <i>stūpas</i> made of cat's-eyes; the eight <i>stūpas</i> made of cat's-eyes in eight boxes made of crystal; the eight boxes made of crystal in eight <i>stūpas</i> made of crystal.

<i>Sabbesaṃ uparimaṃ phalīkacetiyaṃ thūpārāmacetiyaṃ pappamāṇaṃ ahoṣi, tassa upari sabbaratanamayaṃ gehaṃ kāresi, tassa upari suvaṇṇamayaṃ, tassa upari rajatamayaṃ, tassa upari tambalohamayaṃ gehaṃ.</i>	The outermost <i>cetiya</i> of crystal was the size of the <i>cetiya</i> in Thūpārāma. Above it he had a house made of all sorts of jewels built. And above it he had a golden house built; above it he had a silver house built; above it he had a copper house built.
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<i>Tattha sabbaratanamayaṃ vālikam okiritvā jalajathalajapupphānaṃ sahasāni vippakiritvā aḍḍhachattāni jātakasatāni asītimahāthere suddhodanamahārājānaṃ mahāmāyādeviṃ satta sahajāteti sabbānetāni suvaṇṇamayāneva kāresi.</i>	There he had the dust of all sorts of jewels scattered, and had thousands of water and land flowers scattered. He had the following made of [sculpted in] gold: the five hundred and fifty Jātaka stories, the eighty great elders, the great king Suddhodana, Mahāmāyādevī, the seven things born at the same time as the Buddha. <sup>4</sup>
<i>Pañcapañcasate suvaṇṇarajatamaye punṇaghaṭṭhapāpesi, pañca suvaṇṇaddhajasate ussāpesi.</i>	He had five hundred full gold vessels and five hundred full silver vessels placed there.
<i>Pañcasate suvaṇṇadīpe, pañcasate rajatadīpe kārapetvā sugandhatelassa pūretvā tesu dukūlavaṭṭhiyo ṭhapesi.</i>	He had five hundred gold flags raised. He had five hundred gold laps and five hundred silver lamps made, had them filled with perfumed oil, and had wicks of fine cloth placed in them.

<i>Athāyasmā mahākassapo – "mālā mā milāyantu, gandhā mā vinassantu, dīpā mā vijjhāyantu"ti adhiṭṭhahitvā suvaṇṇapaṭṭhe akkharāni chindāpesi –</i>	Making the resolution, "Let the garlands not wither; let the perfumes not perish; let the lamps not go out", <sup>5</sup> the Venerable Mahākassapa had gold plates inscribed as follows:
<i>"Anāgate piyadāso nāma kumāro chattaṃ ussāpetvā asoko dhammarājā bhavissati. So imā dhātuyo vitthārikā karissatī"ti.</i>	"In the future, a young nobleman called Piyadāsa will raise the parasol and become a righteous king ( <i>Dhammarājā</i> ) called Asoka. He will have these relics distributed far and wide."
<i>Rājā sabbapasādhanehi pūjetvā ādito paṭṭhāya dvāraṃ pidahanto nikkhami, so tambalohadvāraṃ pidahitvā āviñchanarajjuyam kuñcikamuddikaṃ bandhitvā tattheva mahantaṃ mañikkhandham ṭhapetvā – "anāgate daliddarājā imaṃ mañiṃ gahetvā dhātūnaṃ sakkāraṃ karotū"ti akkharaṃ chindāpesi.</i>	The king worshipped them with all sorts of ornaments, closed the doors starting from the first, and left. When he had closed the copper door, he tied keys and a seal ring to a rope pulley. At the same place he put a great heap of gems, and an inscription saying, "In the future let poor kings take a gem here to worship the relics."

<sup>4</sup> This is referenced to *Jātaka*, where I don't find it. It is however mentioned in the commentary to the *Dīgha Nikāya 2.1. Mahāpadāna Sutta - Sambhulaparicchedavaṇṇanā*, *ANA 1.14.4(14). Kāludāyittheravatthu*, *ThgA 10.1. Kāludāyittheragāthāvaṇṇanā*, *ApAdA 4.4. Kāludāyittheraapadānavaṇṇanā*, and *Buddhava 3. Dīparikarabuddhavaṇṇanā*. They are - (1) *rāhulamātā* (mother of Rahula), (2) *ānandatthero* (ven. Ānanda), (3) *channo* (Channa, the friend charioteer), (4) *kaṇṭako/kaṇḍako assarājā* (Kaṇḍaka the king of horses), (5) *nidhikumbhā* (the four treasures), (6) *mahābodhirukkho* (the great Bodhi tree), and (7) *kāludāyī* (Kāludāyī, the minister). (Yang-Gyu An wrongly lists "the lordly elephant of high breed" instead of ven. Ānanda.)

<sup>5</sup> We can see a similar resolution made by the king Okkalapa of Burma in the story of making Shwedagon pagoda (believed to have happened already during the time of the Buddha) – "The Sakka, Brahma, the king of Okkalapa, and rich man Thuwunna, holding four candles with the size of three fists in diameter and the height was seven elbow-lengths, were lit and prayed: "May those candles be lit up to five thousands years." Because of their oath those candles are still lighting as an eternal light." (edited from Shwedagon Phayar Thamaing ( "လေးဆူဝါဒ်" - *Shwe Dagon pagoda, the majestic landmark in which the relics and remnants of four bygone Buddhas were enshrined*", drawing by Myo Man and Kyaw Moe Zaw, Myint Moh May May Literature, Yangon, 2014; p.52.)

<i>Sakko devarājā vissakammaṃ āmantetvā – "tāta, ajātasattunā dhātunidhānaṃ kataṃ, ettha ārakkaṃ paṭṭhapehī"ti pahīni.</i>	Sakka, the king of deities, summoned Vissakamma and despatched him, saying, "My dear, Ajātasattu has made a deposit of the relics. You should arrange for their protection."
<i>So āgantvā vālasaṅghāṭayantaṃ yojesi, kaṭṭharūpakāni tasmim̐ dhātugabbhe phalikavaṇṇakhagge gāhetvā vātasadisena vegena anupariyāyantaṃ yantaṃ yojetvā ekāya eva āṇiyā bandhitvā</i>	He came and constructed a revolving wheel ( <i>vālasaṅghāṭayanta</i> ). He set up wooden figures holding swords looking like crystal inside the <i>stūpa</i> , and constructed the machine to revolve as fast as the wind; he fastened it with just one bolt,
<i>samantato giṇṇakāvasathākārena silāparikkhepaṃ katvā upari ekāya pidahitvā paṃsuṃ pakkhipitvā bhūmim̐ samaṃ katvā tassa upari pāsāṇathūpaṃ paṭiṭṭhapesi.</i>	and encircled it all round with stones in the form of a brick house, and closed it above with one bolt, and threw soil upon it, and made the ground level, and had a <i>stūpa</i> made of rocks built upon it.
<i>Evaṃ niṭṭhite dhātunidhāne yāvatāyukaṃ ṭhatvā theropi parinibbuto, rājāpi yathākammaṃ gato, tepi manussā kālaṇkatā.</i>	After the depositing of the relics was thus finished, the elder lived as long as his lifespan, and attained parinibbāna. The king also passed away according to his deeds. And those people who had been involved died.

<i>Aparabhāge piyadāso nāma kumāro chattaṃ ussāpetvā asoko nāma dhammarājā hutvā tā dhātuyo gahetvā jambudīpe vitthārikā akāsi. Kathaṃ?</i>	Later on, a young nobleman called Piyadāsa raised the royal parasol and became a righteous king called Asoka. He took those relics and distributed them in Jambudīpa. How?
<i>So nigrodhasāmaṇeraṃ nissāya sāsane laddhappasādo caturāsīti vihārasahassāni kāretvā bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pucchi – "bhante, mayā caturāsīti vihārasahassāni kāritāni, dhātuyo kuto labhissāmi"ti?</i>	Through the novice Nigrodha, he acquired faith in the teaching and had eighty-four thousand monasteries built, and then asked the Order of monks: "Sir, I have had eighty four thousand monasteries built. Where can I get relics from?"
<i>Mahārāja, – "dhātunidhānaṃ nāma atthī"ti suṇoma, na pana paññāyati – "asukasmim̐ ṭhāne"ti.</i>	"Great king, we hear that there is a deposit of relics, but we do not know its whereabouts."
<i>Rājā rājagahe cetiyaṃ bhindāpetvā dhātuṃ apassanto paṭipākatikaṃ kāretvā bhikkhubhikkhuniyo upāsakaupāsikāyoti catasso parisā gahetvā vesālīm̐ gato.</i>	The king had the <i>stūpa</i> in Rājagaha broken open, but he did not see any relics, so he had it restored. He then went to Vesālī with the four assemblies, namely monks, nuns, male followers, female followers.
<i>Tatrāpi alabhitvā kapilavatthuṃ.</i>	Not having obtained them there either, he went to Kapilavatthu.
<i>Tatrāpi alabhitvā rāmagāmaṃ gato.</i>	Not having obtained them there either, he went to Rāmagāma.
<i>Rāmagāme nāgā cetiyaṃ bhindituṃ na adamsu, cetiye nipatitakudālo khaṇḍākhaṇḍaṃ hoti.</i>	Nāgas in Rāmagāma did not allow them to break open the <i>stūpa</i> . A spade falling on the <i>stūpa</i> was broken to pieces.
<i>Evaṃ tatrāpi alabhitvā allakappaṃ veṭhadīpaṃ pāvaṃ kusiṇāranti sabbattha cetiyāni bhinditvā dhātuṃ alabhitvā paṭipākatikāni katvā</i>	Not having obtained them there either, he went to Allakappa, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvaka, Kusiṇārā. He broke open all the <i>stūpas</i> , but he could not obtain relics, so he restored them

<i>puna rājagahaṃ gantvā catasso parisā sannipātāpetvā – "atthi kenaci sutapubbaṃ 'asukatṭhāne nāma dhātunidhāna'nti" pucchi.</i>	And returned to Rājagaha. There he had the four assemblies convened, and asked, "Is there anyone who has heard of the depositing of relics in a particular place?"
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<i>Tatreko vīsavassasatiko thero – "asukatṭhāne dhātunidhāna'nti na jānāmi, mayhaṃ pana pitā mahāthero maṃ sattavassakāle mālācarikoṭakaṃ gāhāpetvā –</i>	Among them there was an elder who was one hundred and twenty years old. He said, "I do not know in what place the relics have been enshrined, but my father, a Mahāthera, made me carry a basket of garlands when I was seven years old, and said,
<i>"ehi sāmaṇera, asukagacchantare pāsāṇathūpo atthi, tattha gacchāmā'ti gantvā pūjetvā – "imaṃ ṭhānaṃ upadhāretuṃ vaṭṭati sāmaṇerā'ti āha.</i>	'Come, novice, there is a <i>stūpa</i> made of rocks in that thicket over there. Let us go there.' He went and worshipped and asaid, 'Novice, it is worth remembering this place.'
<i>Ahaṃ ettakaṃ jānāmi mahārājāti āha.</i>	Great king, this is all I know."
<i>Rājā "etadeva ṭhāna'nti vatvā gacche hāretvā pāsāṇathūpañca paṃsuñca apanetvā heṭṭhā sudhābhūmiṃ addasa.</i>	Exclaiming, "That is the place", the king had the thicket cut down and had the <i>stūpa</i> made of rocks and the soil removed, and saw a stucco floor below;
<i>Tato sudhañca iṭṭhakāyo ca hāretvā anupubbena pariveṇaṃ oruṃha sattaratanavāluṃkaṃ asihatthāni ca kaṭṭharūpakāni samparivattakāni addasa.</i>	Then he had the stucco and the bricks dug out, and descended in due course to the inner chamber, and saw the dust of seven jewels, and wooden figures with swords in their hands revolving.
<i>So yakkhadāsake pakkosāpetvā balikammaṃ kāretvāpi neva antaṃ na koṭiṃ passanto devatānaṃ namassamāno – "ahaṃ imā dhātuyo gahetvā caturāsītiyā vihārasahassesu nidahitvā sakkāraṃ karomi, mā me devatā antarāyaṃ karontū'ti āha.</i>	Even though he had yakkha servants summoned and an offering made to them, he saw neither end nor top. He paid homage to the deities, saying, "If I get the relics, I am going to enshrine and worship them in eighty-four thousand monasteries. Let the deities not impede me."

<i>Sakko devarājā cārikaṃ caranto taṃ disvā vissakammaṃ āmantesi – "tāta, asoko dhammarājā 'dhātuyo nīharissāmi'ti pariveṇaṃ otiṇṇo, gantvā kaṭṭharūpakāni hārehi'ti.</i>	While he was on tour, Sakka, king of the gods, saw him. He addressed Vissakamma: "My dear, Asoka, a righteous king, has descended into the chamber with the intention of removing the relics. You should go and remove the wooden figures."
<i>So pañcacūlagāmadārakavesena gantvā rañño purato dhanuhattho ṭhatvā – "harāmi mahārājāti'ti āha.</i>	He went disguised as a village boy with his hair tied in five knots, and stoodholding a bow in front of the king, and said, "Great king, may I remove them?"
<i>"Hara, tāta'ti saraṃ gahetvā sandhimhiyeva vijjhi, sabbaṃ vippakiriyittha.</i>	"Remove them, dear boy." He took an arrow and shot exactly at the joint. It all fell apart.
<i>Atha rājā āviñchane bandhaṃ kuñcīkamuddikaṃ gaṇhi, maṇikkhandhaṃ passi.</i>	Then the king took hold of the key and the seal ring tied to the rope, and saw a heap of gems.
<i>"Anāgate daliddarājā imaṃ maṇiṃ gahetvā dhātūnaṃ sakkāraṃ karotū'ti puna akkharāni disvā kujjhitvā –</i>	Seeing the inscription: "In the future let poor kings take a gem here to worship the relics", he got angry, saying,
<i>"mādisaṃ nāma rājānaṃ daliddarājāti vattuṃ ayutta'nti punappunaṃ ghaṭetvā dvāraṃ vivarāpetvā antogehaṃ pavitṭho.</i>	"It is not proper to call a king like me a poor king!" He beat on the door again and again, opened it and entered the chamber.

<i>Aṭṭhārasavassādhikānaṃ dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ uparī āropitadīpā tatheva pajjalanti.</i>	The lamps placed there two hundred and eighteen years ago were still burning just the same;
<i>Niluppalapupphāni taṅkhaṇaṃ āharitvā āropitāni viya, pupphasanthāro taṅkhaṇaṃ santhato viya, gandhā taṃ muhuttaṃ pisitvā ṭhapitā viya rājā suvaṇṇapaṭṭaṃ gahetvā –</i>	the blue lotus flowers looked as if they had been brought and put there at that moment; the carpet of flowers appeared as if it had been strewn at that moment; the perfumes appeared to have been crushed and installed at that moment. The king took the golden slab and read out,
<i>"anāgate piyadāso nāma kumāro chattaṃ ussāpetvā asoko nāma dhammarājā bhavissati so imā dhātuyo vitthārikā karissati"ti vācetvā –</i>	"In the future, a young nobleman called Piyadāsa will raise the parasol and become a righteous king ( <i>Dhammarājā</i> ) called Asoka. He will have these relics distributed far and wide." Exclaiming,
<i>"diṭṭho bho, ahaṃ ayyena mahākassapattherenā"ti vatvā vāmahatthaṃ ābhujitvā dakkhiṇena hatthena apphoṭesi.</i>	"I have been foreseen by the Venerable Mahākassapa", he bent his left arm and struck it with his right hand.
<i>So tasmim̐ ṭhāne paricaraṇadhātumattameva ṭhapetvā sesā dhātuyo gahetvā dhātugehaṃ pubbe pihitanayeneva pidahitvā sabbaṃ yathāpakatīvāva katvā</i>	Except only for some relics for worship in that place, he took all the other relics, and closed the relic chamber exactly as it had been closed before,
<i>uparī pāsāṇacetiyaṃ paṭiṭṭhāpetvā caturāsītiyā vihārasahassesu dhātuyo paṭiṭṭhāpetvā mahāthere vanditvā pucchi – "dāyādomhi, bhante, buddhasāsane"ti.</i>	And had the relics deposited in the eighty-four thousand monasteries. Having saluted the great elders, he asked, "Sir, am I an heir to the teaching of the Buddha?"
<i>Kissa dāyādo tvaṃ, mahārāja, bāhirako tvaṃ sāsanaṃ sātī.</i>	"Great king, who are you an heir to You are an outsider to the teaching."
<i>Bhante, channavutikoṭṭidhanaṃ vissajjetvā caturāsīti vihārasahassāni kāretvā ahaṃ na dāyādo, añño ko dāyādoti?</i>	"Sir, I have spent ninety-six crores and had the eighty-four thousand monasteries built. If I am not an heir, who is an heir?"
<i>Paccayadāyako nāma tvaṃ mahārāja, yo pana attano puttañca dhītarañca pabbājeti, ayaṃ sāsane dāyādo nāmāti.</i>	"Great king, you are just called one who offes requisites; but if one has one's sons and daughtes go forth, one is called an hair to the teaching."
<i>So puttañca dhītarañca pabbājesi.</i>	He made his son and daughte go forth.
<i>Atha naṃ therā āhaṃsu – "idāni, mahārāja, sāsane dāyādosī"ti.</i>	Then the elders told him: "Great king, now you are an heir to the teaching."
<i>Evameva bhūtapubbanti evaṃ etaṃ atīte dhātunidhānampi jambudīpatale bhūtapubbanti. Tatiyasarigītikārāpi imaṃ padaṃ ṭhapaṃsu.</i>	<b>This was how it used to be:</b> This was how in the past the relics were deposited and they used to be in Jambudīpa [i.e. India]. This statement too was inserted by those who held the third council.
<i>Aṭṭhaddoṇaṃ cakkhumato sarīrantiādīgāthāyo pana tambapaṇṇidīpe therehi vuttāti.</i>	<b>Eight measures (dona) of the relics of one who has vision,</b> and so forth: These verses, however, were uttered by the elders in Tambapaṇṇi [i.e. Sri Lanka].

### 3. Spending Time in Heaven.. While the Human Life Passes By..

Abhidhamma is a scripture so different from the other parts of *Tipiṭaka*, that many scholars in the past – as well as in the present – seriously doubted whether it was taught by the Buddha. Those scholars,

however, have not shown evidence for any other author of that large collection – nor even the reason why the author (or at least the compiler) would need to hide his identity.

The reason for Abhidhamma's difference is however clearly mentioned in the Pāli Commentaries – which, together with the Pāli Sub-Commentaries – identify authors of all other *Tipiṭaka* texts. Namely, that it was preached to different living beings, other than humans, and even in a different world – very different from human realm. There is not a single reason why the author of Abhidhamma, if he was not the Buddha Himself, would have to hide himself or be ashamed for his marverlous masterpiece. The scripture is perfectly in accordance with all the other parts of *Tipiṭaka*, and excels all the other texts in wit and entirety. What may however make sense, is that the atheist, materialist, nihilist scholars of Western philosophy (and perhaps even those who rejected Abhidhamma as the Buddha's word throughout the Buddhist history) were not ready to accept existence of heaven and gods. Thinking that Abhidhamma was preached to an ordinary person, that would be really unthinkable. However, thinking that Abhidhamma was introduced by an ordinary person – that, again in comparison to any other Pāli texts of that time – is no less unthinkable (!).

Well then, so are there no contradictions regarding the fact of the Buddha teaching Abhidhamma in heaven? Well... there is one.

The problem is with time in heaven vs. human realm. If the Pāli scriptures simply explained that time lasts same period in heaven and human realm, everything would be fine – just like you would perhaps imagine before reading this article. On the other hand, saying that time in heaven lasts different way than in human world, we are reaching to the theory of relativity, Einstein, and the experience of cosmonauts themselves (of course, if heaven reaches beyond the atmosphere).

Ven. Kumāra Kassapa in *Pāyāsisutta of Dīgha Nikāya - Mahāvaggapāḷi – Tāvatiṃsadevaupamā* mentions that human time is 100 years for one day in the *Tāvatiṃsā* heaven. Similarly, the story of the heavenly nymph (female deity) who played with her friends and then suddenly died and was born in human realm – then in her 40 again died and was born back in heaven, but her friends thought it all took just a little while – *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, Paṭipūjjikakumārivatthu* (DhpA vol.1 MMp.229), that would also speak for the idea that time in heaven lasts a little while, and during that while many years pass by in the human world.

So, if 100 years in *Tāvatiṃsa* are equivalent to a single day on Earth, then the three months of human time during which the Buddha preached Abhidhamma in *Tāvatiṃsa*, is equivalent to 3 minutes and 36 seconds for humans.<sup>6</sup> The Commentary for *Dhammasaṅgani*, the first book of *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, narrates the Buddha's whereabouts during His stay in the heaven. We learn, that every day the Buddha created a replica of himself in the heaven, and while the replica would continue the Abhidhamma discourse, the real Buddha descend to the human realm for alms-round. It is not easy to understand why the Buddha would need to go for alms-round every human day, if in heaven He spent less than 4 minutes.

A reasonable solution to this may be, that the "long time" in *Tāvatiṃsa* in fact means extremely long day (i.e. 100 times longer days), by which way they can do many things during a single day. (This

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<sup>6</sup> The year here, as we will see from the example below from *Anguttara Nikāya*, has twelve months. 100 years in human realm is one day ( = 1440 minutes) in *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven, therefore 1 year in human realm is 14 minutes and 24 seconds (14.40 minutes) in that heaven. Three months are a quarter of that, namely 3 minutes and 36 seconds.

would make sense especially if gods had to dedicate time to sleep.) A truly scholarly heretic, a truly intelligent researcher – instead of rejecting Abhidhamma – should rather suggest, that perhaps ven. Kumāra Kassapa has misunderstood the Buddha, and that the *Dhammapada* Commentary was composed to ascertain the wrong understanding of ven. Kumāra Kassapa. From the Buddha's discourse, it seems to me, that the Buddha rather meant that the days in heaven are much longer than in the human realm. See yourself:

<i>Uposathasuttaṃ</i> <sup>7</sup>	English translation by monk Saraṇa
" <i>Yaṃ, visākhe, mānusakaṃ vassasataṃ, tāvatiṃsānaṃ devānaṃ eso eko rattindivo.</i>	"What, Visākha, are hundred years (/ "rains") for humans, that is one night and day for the deities of <i>Tāvatiṃsa</i> (heaven).
<i>Tāya rattiyaṃ tiṃsarattiyo māso.</i>	By that day (/ "night"), thirty days (/ "nights") are (one) month.
<i>Tena māsenā dvādasamāsiyo saṃvaccharo.</i>	By that month, a year of twelve months.
<i>Tena saṃvaccharena dībbaṃ vassasahassaṃ tāvatiṃsānaṃ devānaṃ āyuppamāṇaṃ.</i>	By that year, the life-span of the <i>Tāvatiṃsa</i> deities (amounts to) thousand heavenly years.

Bhikkhu Bodhi, in his *"The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha"*, translates the first sentence as "For the Tāvatiṃsa devas a single night and day is equivalent to a hundred human years." The word "equivalent" however doesn't appear in the Pāli sentence, and I am not sure whether it is the only way of reading that sentence. The main reason for not reading the sentence in terms of "equivalents" is, that the life of those deities would therefore not be very long – what is thousand years in haven, in compare to hundred years in human life? Only ten times longer. I think this is not much. In the way I read it, however, the life-span of *Tāvatiṃsa* deities would count to 1000 years, each of which would amount to 365 x 100 years – altogether 36 500 years. The life-span of *Tāvatiṃsa* deities would therefore amount to whopping 36 500 000 years. And that is certainly considerable length of life, isn't it? Even if you think that those deities are not worth such a long life span, please note that in the first way of interpretation, a *Tāvatiṃsa* deity's single life-span would mean these 36.5 million years would pass in the human realm anyway. Long story short, why should the Buddha exalt the life among deities, who live just 1000 years, a ten times longer human life-span, while 36.5 million years pass below them? It would make more sense, that those deities simply have their life-span 36.5 million years long – which would be a very good reason for our dear Visākha to follow his eight rules every *uposatha*, and expect that next life he may be born among those deities. .. Or otherwise.. perhaps I should learn more of Pāli grammar? If so, then I am not alone –

<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā</i> <sup>8</sup>	English translation by Pe Maung Tin, <sup>9</sup> corrected by monk Saraṇa
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<sup>7</sup> *Ariguttara Nikāya - Tikanipāṭapāli – 2(7). Mahāvaggo - 10. Uposathasuttaṃ - par.71.*

<sup>8</sup> *Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā - Nidānakathā, MM DhsA p.16.*

<sup>9</sup> *"The Expositor (Atthasālinī) – Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, The First Book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka"*, vols. I,II, Pe Maung Tin (edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids), PTS, London, 1976; p.19.

<i>Buddhānañhi bhattānumodanakālepi thokaṃ vaḍḍhetvā anumodentānaṃ desanā dīghamajjhimanikāyappamāṇā hoti.</i>	For a speech of the Buddha when thanking his host for entertainment, if elaborated a little, may reach the length of a Dīgha or Majjhima collection of discourses. <sup>10</sup>
<i>Pacchābhattaṃ pana sampattaparisāya dhammaṃ desentānaṃ desanā saṃyuttaaṅguttarikadvemahānikāyappamāṇāva hoti.</i>	And a discourse given after a meal to the host of assembled people reaches the length of the two great collections of <i>Saṃyutta</i> and <i>Aṅguttara</i> . <sup>11</sup>
<i>Kasmā? Buddhānañhi bhavaṅgaparivāso lahuko dantāvaraṇaṃ suphūṣitaṃ mukhādānaṃ siliṭṭhaṃ jivhā mudukā saro madhuro vacanaṃ lahuparivattaṃ.</i>	Why should it be so? Because the Buddhas are but slightly occupied with the business of maintaining life, the lips close well, the mouth opens lightly, the tongue is soft, the voice is sweet, the delivery of words is quick.
<i>Tasmā taṃ muhuttaṃ desitadhammopi ettako hoti.</i>	Hence the Law, preached in such a short time, is of the length stated;
<i>Temāsaṃ desitadhammo pana ananto aparimāṇoyeva.</i>	When it was preached for three months it must have been infinite and immeasurable.

Indeed, the Abhidhamma is really huge. The Pāli text of Abhidhamma Piṭaka in Burmese script amounts to twelve volumes, of which the Paṭṭhāna Pāli forms the last five volumes. According to *Dhammasaṅgaṇī-Aṭṭhakathā*, the Buddha gave the Abhidhamma discourse in heaven with all the repetitions of every matrix in the teachings – and then shared the shortened version, "in brief", with ven. Sāriputta after His alms-rounds, already during those three months of reciting in heaven. Ven. Sāriputta then shared the "neither-long-nor-short" version with a number of his disciples. What we have is a version with a lot of abbreviations – great portion of the repetitions are just marked as repetition, without writing them in length. To illustrate how large the Abhidhamma discourse was when it was at length, see the enumeration of "questions" in the Paṭṭhāna Pāli –

"Based on the method given in the Comy. The author<sup>12</sup> has worked out the grand total of questions which is 404,948,533,248. ... Based on the method given in the Subcomy. The author has worked out the grand total of questions which is 388,788,713,344. ... The Subcomy. Has supplied verses at the end of the book giving the totals for the different items. But the Pali scholar may find them difficult to understand and so they are translated to show the totals they denote. It will be noted that the grand totals of the Comy. and the Subcomy. are different. This is due to some difference in the method of calculation and the reason for this is pointed out. If 100,000 questions were to be recited in a day it would take over 10,000 years to complete the

<sup>10</sup> The translator Pe Maung Tin has translated *nikāya* as "discourse", which I find extremely misleading. The meaning here is, that the Buddha's thanks would be so rich and long, that they would encompass the teachings in the triple-volumed *Dīgha Nikāya* (altogether 779 pages of Pāli text in Burmese script), or in the triple-volumed *Majjhima Nikāya* (altogether 1206 pages of Pāli text in Burmese script).

<sup>11</sup> Pe Maung Tin again reads "discourse" here, which however doesn't occur in the Pāli text. The meaning I understand is that, unlike in the previous case when one or another collection were meant, in this case both of the *Saṃyutta* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas* are counted together – 1453 (*Saṃyutta*) + 1650 (*Aṅguttara*) = altogether 3103 pages of Pāli text in the Burmese script.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. Sayadaw U Nārada himself.

questions of Pṭh. The Comy. States that the Buddha expounded all the Pṭh. questions to his audience of Devas and Brahmās in the Tāvatiṃsā world of Devas. This amply shows the Omniscience of the Buddha."<sup>13</sup>

To measure time in *Tāvatiṃsā* heaven in relation to the human time, we can examine two more sources – Buddha's disciples who visited *Tāvatiṃsā* heaven, and the monks in the modern time who visit it themselves. For the first case, there is the Pāli scripture of *Vimānavatthu*, where ven. Moggallāna talks to the denizens of various heavens and asks them about their past *kamma* and their present whereabouts. I am not aware of a mention, that during those ten minutes or perhaps even longer, ven. Moggallāna would be a year in meditation while in the human realm, or that he would have to stop his dialogues every few seconds so that he could go for alms-rounds in the human realm..

In case of the monks who mastered psychic powers, and who are readily available among us, I have heard from one that his time spent in the heaven and the time spent in meditation (through which he travelled to the heaven, by his mind only), were not distinctively different. We could however hypothesize that his travel to heaven was not real, because he did it through *upacāra samādhī* (a stage of concentration before the first *jhāna*), and not through the fourth *jhāna*.

Sayadaw U Vajirapāṇibhivamsa believes, that the Buddha experienced human time even when He was in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven, and therefore He had to go for alms-round regardless the short time in heaven.

#### 4. Bhikkhunīs : Buddhist Heroines Crucified and Resurrected (A05)

A05 "The Document on Resolution about *Bhikkhunī(s)* Which Explains Whether *Bhikkhunī(s)* Should Be or Should Not Be [included] In The Buddha's Dispensation of *Theravāda* In Present Era."

27	ဘိက္ခုနီဝိနိဗ္ဗာနစာတမ်း ၁၁	The Document on Resolution about Bhikkhunīs 11
	သွားရောက်ဦးချပြီးလျှင် "ရှင်တော်မြတ်ဘုရား--- ဘုရားတပည့်တော်မသည် ဤသာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့အပေါ်၌ မည်သို့မည်ပုံ ပြုကျင့်ရပါမည်နည်းဘုရား"ဟု လျှောက်ထားလေရာ---	And when (she) respectfully said: "Great noble lord Buddha, lord, what and how should I do for (/“regarding”) these five hundred Sakyan princesses, Lord?"
	ဘုရားရှင်သည် မိတ္ထေတော် မဟာပဇာပတိဂေါတမီ၏ လျှောက်ထားချက်ကို အကြောင်းပြု၍ ရဟန်းအပေါင်းကို စည်းဝေးစေပြီးလျှင်-	The Lord Buddha gathered all monks, making the respectful speech of the royal step-mother Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī the (main) reason, and gracefully allowed the ordination (/“becoming”) of bhikkhunīs by this declaration of rule:
	"အနုဇာနမိ ဘိက္ခဝေ ဘိက္ခုဟိ ဘိက္ခုနိယော ဥပသမ္မာဒေတုံ"	" <i>Anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi bhikkhuniyo upasampādetum.</i> " <sup>44</sup>
	ဘိက္ခဝေ-ရဟန်းတို့၊ ဘိက္ခုဟိ-ရဟန်းယောက်ျားတို့သည်၊	<i>Bhikkhave</i> = monks, <i>bhikkhūhi</i> = (by) male monks,

<sup>13</sup> "Guide to Conditional Relations", Part 1, U Nārada Mūla Paṭṭhāna Sayadaw, PTS, London, 1979; pp.xxxv-xxxvi.

<sup>14</sup> This is a declaration of the Buddha which seems to be the leading key for many monks of Theravāda tradition to ordain bhikkhunīs in situation when no bhikkhunīs are present. In July 2007 Bhikkhu Bodhi has completed a paper called "The Revival of Bhikkhunī Ordination in the Theravāda Tradition" and included the true treasure, a rare gem, when he translated the bhikkhunī portion (pp.228-238) of *Milindapañhā Aṭṭhakathā* (the Pāli Commentary to the ancient book *Milindapañhā*) composed by the great master Mingun Jetavan Sayadaw (the teacher of the famous Mahasi Sayadaw) in 1949. Mingun Jetavan Sayadaw (Bhikkhu Bodhi's tr. p.27, PDF p.27) explains: "In this matter we say that the statement: "Bhikkhus, I allow bhikkhus to ordain bhikkhunīs" was made by the Exalted One, and this statement of the Exalted One concerns restriction [of the ordination solely by a Bhikkhu Sangha] to a period when the Bhikkhunī Sangha does not exist. ... Hence at present, or even now, though restricted to a situation in which the Bhikkhunī Sangha has become non-existent, women can be ordained by the Bhikkhu Sangha." (The second portion in Pāli is: "*Tato eva paccuppanne ca etarahi vā pana bhikkhunīsāṅghassa abhāvapariccheden'eva bhikkhusaṅghena mātugāmo upasampādetabbo.*") On p.28 of Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation we further read: "*Sabbāññītaññāssa āṇācakkam na pahārayitabbam. Bhabbapuggalānaṃ āsā na chinditabbā. Bhikkhusaṅghena hi mātugāmo etarahi upasampādetum bhabbo ti.*" = "One should not strike a blow to the Wheel of Authority of the omniscient knowledge. The wishes of qualified persons should not be obstructed. For now women are qualified to be ordained by the Bhikkhu Saṅgha." The arguments against this idea of the great master Mingun Jetavan Sayadaw (i.e. the suggestion and urge to revive bhikkhunī dispensation, which he wrote himself in his *Milindapañhā Aṭṭhakathā*), will be coming later in the main translated text.

ဘိက္ခုနီယော-ရဟန်းမတို့ကို ဥပသမ္ပါဒေတုံ-မြင့်မြတ်သော ရဟန်းမအဖြစ်သို့ ရောက်စေခြင်းငှာ၊ (ဝါ) ရဟန်းခံပေးခြင်းငှာ၊	<i>Bhikkhuniyo</i> = female monks, <i>upasampādetum</i> = in order to cause coming to the noble state of <i>bhikkhunī</i> (or) in order to give higher ordination,
အနုဇာနဓိ-ဘုရား ခွင့်ပြုတော်မူ၏”ဟူသော ဥပဒေပညတ်တော်ဖြင့် မာတုဂါမတို့၏ ရဟန်းမအဖြစ်ကို ခွင့်ပြုတော်မူလေသည်။	<i>Anujānāmi</i> = I Lord gracefully permit.”
သာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့ စကတောဥပသမ္ပန္နရဟန်းမများ <sup>15</sup> ဖြစ်ကြခြင်း	The 500 Sakyan Princesses Become Bhikkhunīs Ordained by Single (Side) Higher Ordination
ထိုခွင့်ပြုချက် ဥပဒေပညတ်တော်ဖြင့် ရဟန်းတော်တို့သည် သာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့ကို မဟာပဇာတိတော်၏ ဥပဇ္ဈာယ်ပြု၍ ပဋ္ဌင်းခံပေးကြလေသည်။	By that declaration of rule the great monks, making Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī the preceptor, ordained the five hundred Sakyan princesses as bhikkhunīs. <sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Typo – “စကတောဥပသမ္ပန္နရဟန်းမများ” (“က” was missing).

<sup>16</sup> **ARGUMENT 001 – 2.1** From now on I will be counting evaluating all arguments given by the main translated text. Because this is the first argument for the traditionalist view (i.e. that bhikkhunīs cannot be ordained, and that bhikkhunīs do not exist any more), I note it as no. 001. Evaluation is of two aspects – (1) source and (2) seriousness.

(1) Arguments which are not supported by quote in any Pāli scripture will get no point at all. The arguments that are based on Sub-Commentaries (*Ṭīkā*) or other texts than the Pāli Commentaries will earn one point. All arguments that are based on Pāli Commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathā*) will earn two points. The arguments coming from the main text (Pāli-Mūla) will earn the maximum, namely three points.

(2) As for the aspect of severity, arguments which have been refuted or are not closely related to the issue of reviving bhikkhunī dispensation, they will get not point at all. Those which cause doubt or have been partially refuted will get one point, and those which haven’t been yet refuted or which seem to be unrefutable will get two points. (This footnote continues on the next page.)

Thus maximum points an argument can get is 3:2, and minimum is 0:0 . This argument is based on commentarial text, as we will see below.

This information will be mentioned again later together with the Pāli text. Because there it will be used for a different purpose, I will explain the present issue here.

*Cūlavagga-Aṭṭhakathā – 10. Bhikkhunikkhandhakam - Bhikkhunīupasampadānujānanakathā – par.404* (PTS 6.1291) : “*Anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi bhikkhuniyo upasampādetunti imāya anupāṇīṇattiyā* [Sinhalese version: *anuṇīṇattiyā*] *bhikkhū pañcasatā sākiyāniyo mahāpajāpatiyā saddhivihāriṇiyo katvā upasampādesum.*” = “Monks, I allow ordaining (women) as bhikkhunīs”, by this secondary declaration (/announcement) the monks made the five hundred Sakyan (ladies) disciples (*saddhivihāriṇiyo*) of Mahā Pajāpati and ordained them as bhikkhunīs.”

Here we can see that Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī, who was ordained exclusively by the Buddha’s Command, was the preceptor of the new bhikkhunīs. Who would be the Buddha to give such Command today, and who then would be the lady who would be the preceptor for the new nuns? This is my question for the revivalists. There the great master Mingun Sayadaw in his *Milindapañhā Aṭṭhakathā* explains this problem, Bhikkhu Bodhi’s tr. p.29 (PDF p.29) :

“Without having them first select a preceptor {i.e. the Buddha didn’t request monks to select a preceptor}, they {i.e. the monks} ordained them {i.e. the 500 Sakyan women} making them pupils of Mahāpajāpatī, and thus, for the success of the enactment formula, they used the following proclamation: “Bhante, let the Sangha listen to me. This one of such a name seeks ordination under Mahāpajāpatī,” and so forth. Thus they too were all called “ordained on one side.” There is no reference to them first selecting a preceptor. And since here the Exalted One had not yet authorized it, here there is nothing about first selecting a preceptor, or about explaining the bowl and robes, or about requesting the ordination, or about inquiring into the twenty-four obstructive factors, or about explaining the three dependences and the eight strict prohibitions.”

I have underlined the portion which is most important for the Argument 001. The fact that there is no reference doesn’t mean that the Buddha didn’t say it. We can find an example of omitting Buddha’s command in the Pāli Commentary for the story of Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā in *Therīgāthā – 5.9.* The original Pāli text says:

“*Ehi bhaddeti maṃ avaca, sā me āsūpasampadā.*” = “Come, Bhaddā”, said He (the Buddha), such was the higher ordination for me.”

Unlike in the case of *ehi bhikkhu*, where the fortunate man suddenly appears with shaven head and clothed in robes, here the Commentary for this as well as for the similar version in *Therīpadāna 3.1.* restrains us:

“.. *ehi, bhaddeti, bhikkhunupassayaṃ gantvā bhikkhunīnaṃ santike pabbajja upasampajjassūti maṃ avoca āṇāpesi.*” = “(The Buddha) told me and ordered: “Come, Bhaddā, go to the bhikkhunī nunnery and going forth under (the guidance of) the bhikkhunīs gain the higher ordination.”” (*Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā 5.9. par.111* , PTS 107)

{{The Sub-Commentary then concludes: “*Tasmā bhikkhunīnaṃ ehibhikkhunūpasampadā natthiye vāti niṭṭhamettha gantabbaṃ.*” = “Therefore there is never an *ehi bhikkhunī* higher ordination for bhikkhunīs, (thus it is) to be taken (/understood) definitely.” – (*Sāraṭṭhadīpanī-Ṭīkā (tatiyo bhāgo) - 1.1. par.656.*) The *Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā 16.1*, PTS 298 further argues: “*Yadi evaṃ, kathā ehibhikkhunīti vibhaṅge niddeso katoti? Desanāyasaṭapatitabhāvena. Ayañhi sotapatitatā nāma katthaci labbhamānassāpi anāhaṭaṃ hoti.*” = “If so, (then) why is “*ehi bhikkhunī*” spoken of in the *Vibhaṅga* (scripture)? Because it dropped in the flow by the way of recitation. Although it may be given somewhere because it dropped (there) in the flow, it however cannot be accepted.” – in other words, although *ehi bhikkhunī* appears in the recitation simply because it was unconsciously inserted there by the flow of memorized recitation, it doesn’t mean that it happened in reality. Note that *ehi bhikkhu* appears in the *bhikkhu* definition exactly in the same way as this *ehi bhikkhunī* appears in the *bhikkhunī* definition. Having recited the *bhikkhu* definition for thousands of times, and indeed, *bhikkhu* definition is repeated many times in the

	အားလုံးသော သာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့သည် တစ်ဖက်သော ဘိက္ခုသံဃာသော ရဟန်းမ အဖြစ်သို့ရောက်သော "ဧကတောဥပသမ္ပန္န" မည်သော ရဟန်းမများ ဖြစ်ကြလေသည်။	(Thus) all of the five hundred Sakyan princesses became bhikkhunīs called <i>ekatoupasampanna</i> , (i.e) that (they) came to the state of bhikkhunī only by a single side of <i>bhikkhu saṅgha</i> .
	ထိုသာကီဝင်ရဟန်းမ ငါးရာတို့သည် မိထွေးတော်မဟာပဏ္ဍိတဂေါတမီကို "အရှင်မသည် ရဟန်းမ မဖြစ်သေး၊ တပည့်တော်မတို့သာ ရဟန်းမဖြစ်ကြသည်၊ အကြောင်းမှာ ရဟန်းယောက်ျားတို့က ရဟန်းမ	Those five hundred Sakyan bhikkhunīs <b>came up</b> to the royal step-mother Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī and <b>told</b> (her): "The mistress is not yet a bhikkhunī. Only we are bhikkhunīs. The reason is, <b>that the Nobly Lord has gracefully declared</b> that the monks <b>must give the higher ordination to bhikkhunīs.</b> "
28	၁၂ ဘိက္ခုနီဝိနိစ္ဆယစာတမ်း	12 The Document on Resolution about Bhikkhunīs
	တို့ကို ပဉ္စင်းခံပေးကြရမည်ဟု မြတ်စွာဘုရား ပညတ်တော် မူပါသည်"ဟု ပြောလာကြကုန်၏။	{The translation of this portion has been included at the end of the previous page.}
	ထိုအကြောင်းကို မိထွေးတော် ဂေါတမီက အရှင်အာနန္ဒာကို လျှောက်၍ အရှင်အာနန္ဒာက မြတ်စွာဘုရားထံ လျှောက်ထားရာ ဘုရားရှင်က "အာနန္ဒာ--မဟာပဏ္ဍိတဂေါတမီသည် ဂရုဓမ္မရှစ်ပါးကို ဝန်ခံသောနေ့ကပင်လျှင် မြင့်မြတ်သော ရဟန်းမ အဖြစ်သို့ ရောက်ခဲ့ပြီ"ဟု မိန့်တော်မူလေသည်။	The royal step-mother Gotamī respectfully told ven. Ānanda (about) that case, and when ven. Ānanda respectfully told (that) to the Nobly Lord, the Nobly Lord gracefully announced: "Ānanda, right on that day when Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī accepted the eight <i>garudhammās</i> , (she) has come to the noble state of bhikkhunī."
	မိထွေးတော်ဂေါတမီသည် ဂရုဓမ္မပဋိဂ္ဂဟဏူပသမ္ပဒါမည်သော ရဟန်းမ ဖြစ်လေသည်။	The royal step mother Gotamī has become a (kind of) bhikkhunī called ("named") <i>garudhammapaṭiggahaṇūpasampadā</i> ("higher ordination by accepting the <i>garudhammās</i> ").
	ထိုအခါမှစ၍ ဘိက္ခုနီပရိသတ် စတင်ပေါ်ပေါက်ခဲ့လေသည်။ (စူဠဝဂ္ဂပါဠိ-၄၄၇-၄၄၈)	Since then the assembly of bhikkhunīs appeared and commenced. <sup>17</sup> ( <i>Cūḷavaggapāḷi</i> – 10. <i>Bhikkhunikkhandhakaṃ</i> - 1. <i>Paṭhamabhāṇavāro</i> - <i>Bhikkhunīupasampadānūjānaṃ</i> , PTS 2.256-7.)
	<b>ရဟန်းမတို့အား ရဟန်းယောက်ျားများနှင့်တန်းတူ အခွင့်အရေးပေးရန် မိထွေးတော်ဂေါတမီ ဆုတောင်းခြင်း</b>	<b>The Wish of Royal Step-Mother Gotamī That Bhikkhunīs Get Permission to Be Equal With Bhikkhus</b>
	မဟာပဏ္ဍိတဂေါတမီနှင့်တကွ သာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့ ရဟန်းမအဖြစ်ကို ရရှိကြပြီးရာအခါ၌	At the time when Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī together with the five hundred Sakyan princesses gained the state of bhikkhunī,
	မဟာပဏ္ဍိတဂေါတမီသည် ရဟန်းယောက်ျား၊ ရဟန်းမတို့ သီတင်းကြီးစဉ်အတိုင်း ရှိခိုးခြင်း၊ ခရီးဦးကြိုဆိုခြင်း၊ လက်အုပ်ချီခြင်း၊ အရိုအသေပြုခြင်းကို ခွင့်ပြုပါရန် ဆုကို ဘုရားရှင်အထံ တောင်းလိုပါသည်ဟု အရှင်အာနန္ဒာအထံ လျှောက်ထားရာ အရှင်အာနန္ဒာက မြတ်စွာဘုရားအထံ လျှောက်ထားလေသည်။	(and) when Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī respectfully asked ven. Ānanda to ask the Nobly Lord for the boon of permitting worship, respectful welcoming, raising clasped hands, (and) reverence according to the seniority of (both) monks and bhikkhunīs (i.e. without gender distinction), ven. Ānanda respectfully told (that) to the Nobly Lord.
	ထိုအခါ ဘုရားရှင်က "အာနန္ဒာ---မာတုဂါမကို ရှိခိုးခြင်း၊ ခရီးဦးကြိုဆိုခြင်း၊ လက်အုပ်ချီခြင်း၊ အရိုအသေပြုခြင်းကို ငါဘုရား ခွင့်ပြုရန် အကြောင်းမရှိ၊	At that time <b>when</b> the Lord Buddha <b>gracefully proclaimed</b> : "Ānanda, there is no reason why should I, the Lord, permit worship, respectful welcoming, raising clasped hands, (and) reverence.
	အာနန္ဒာ---မကောင်းသဖြင့်ဟောအပ်သည့် တရားရှိကြ	Ānanda, <b>even the heretics of other (religions and philosophies) outside the Dispensation</b> , who hold (wrong) views (and therefore) preach what is wrong,
29	ဘိက္ခုနီဝိနိစ္ဆယစာတမ်း ၁၃	13 The Document on Resolution about Bhikkhunīs
	<b>သော သာသနာတော်မှတစ်ပါး တခြားဖြစ်ကြသည့်တိတ္ထိတို့သော်မှ မာတုဂါမကို ရှိခိုးခြင်း၊ ခရီးဦးကြိုဆိုခြင်း၊ လက်အုပ်ချီခြင်း၊ အရိုအသေပြုခြင်းကို မပြုကြကုန်တုံသေး၊</b>	Do not practice worship, respectful welcoming, raising clasped hands, (and) reverence to woman at all.

Vinaya text, it is natural that when reciting the *bhikkhunī* definition the habits of the *bhikkhu* definition will cause an unintentional insertion of information from the *bhikkhu* definition into the *bhikkhunī* definition.}}

Thus the fact that we can see "no reference" to selecting a preceptor or authorizing Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī as a preceptor is not a sound argument against the claim of the ancient Pāḷi Commentaries that Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī was selected as the preceptor for the new bhikkhunīs. But it still puts us into doubt, because in this case we are talking about the Vinaya scriptures (not a story of a monastic, as was the case in Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā), and therefore the important decisions of the Buddha should have been well documented, if not in main scripture, then in Commentaries, and if not in Commentaries, then in the Sub-Commentaries. Indeed, the Buddha's decision to make Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī preceptor for the 500 Sakyan women is nowhere mentioned at all. Another argument could be, that here "*saddhivihāriniyo*" originally meant "co-residents", meaning that the Sakyan women simply became peers of Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī, not at all her disciples. The word *saddhivihārini* has both meanings of "disciple" and "co-resident". The Burmese translation here speaks of Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī as "made a preceptor", however no word corresponding to "preceptor" is included in this Commentarial text. Note that Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī doesn't seem to be eligible to be qualified as a preceptor, a while after her ordination (!) . Because of this doubt on whether the Argument 001 is valid or not, it receives one point in the aspect of seriousness.

<sup>17</sup> This sentence as well as the preceding one however doesn't appear in the following reference to the Pāḷi text. In *Pārājikakaṇḍa-Atthakathā* - 1. *Pārājikakaṇḍaṃ* - 1. *Paṭhamapārājikaṃ* - *Bhikkhupadabhaṇīyavaṇṇanā* (PTS 1.241) we learn: "*Garudhammapaṭiggahaṇūpasampadā nāma mahāpajāpatiyā atthagarudhammassa paṭiggahaṇena anuññātaupasampadā*." = "*Garudhammapaṭiggahaṇūpasampadā* (/the higher ordination by accepting the *garudhammās*) is the higher ordination declared (for Mahā Pajāpati by the Buddha) when Mahā Pajāpati accepted the eight *garudhammās*."

	ငါဘုရားသည် အဘယ်အကြောင်းကြောင့် မာတုဂါမကို ရှိခိုးခြင်း၊ ခရီးဦးကြိုဆိုခြင်း၊ လက်အုပ်ချီခြင်း၊ အရိုအသေပြုခြင်းကို ခွင့်ပြုတော်မူလိမ့်မည်နည်း”ဟု မိန့်တော်မူပြီးလျှင်---	Why (then) should I, the Lord, gracefully permit worship, respectful welcoming, raising clasped hands, (and) reverence to woman?
	“န သိက္ခဝေ မာတုဂါမဿ အဘိဝါဒနံ ပစ္စုပ္ပန် အဉ္စလိကမ္မံ သာမိဝိကမ္မံ ကာတဗ္ဗံ၊ ယော ကရေယျ၊ အာပတ္တိ ဒုက္ကဋ္ဌဿ-	"Na bhikkhave mātugāmassa abhivādanam paccuṭṭānam añjalikammaṃ sāmīcikkammaṃ kātabbam, yo kareyya, āpatti dukkaṭassa."
	ရဟန်းတို့ မာတုဂါမကို ရှိခိုးခြင်း၊ ခရီးဦးကြိုဆိုခြင်း၊ လက်အုပ် ချီခြင်း၊ အရိုအသေပြုခြင်းကို မပြုအပ်၊ ပြုသောရဟန်းအား ဒုက္ကဋ္ဌအာပတ် သင့်စေ”- ဟု သိက္ခာပုဒ်ပညတ်တော်မူလေသည်။ (ဝိ-၄၊ ၄၄၈)	(the Buddha) gracefully declared the training rule: “monks, worship, respectful welcoming, raising clasped hands, (and) reverence shall not be practiced to a woman, (and) the monk who practices (it), (he) shall fall into the offence of wrong-doing.” <sup>18</sup> ( <i>Cūlavaggapāḷi</i> – 10. <i>Bhikkhunikkhandhakam</i> – 1. <i>Paṭhamabhāṇavāro</i> – <i>Bhikkhuniūpasampadānujānanaṃ</i> – par.405 , PTS 2.257)
	မူလပညတ်လော? အနုပညတ်လော?	Primary Declaration? Secondary Declaration?
	“အနုဇာနဓိ သိက္ခဝေ သိက္ခုဟိ သိက္ခုနိယော ဥပသမ္ပဒေတုံ”- ဟူသော ဤပညတ်တော်သည် မူလပညတ်လော? အနုပညတ်လော?ဟု မေးဖွယ်ရှိ၏။	There is the question - Is this declaration, namely “ <i>Anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi bhikkhuniyo upasampādetum</i> ” <sup>19</sup> a primary declaration or secondary declaration?
	“အနုဇာနဓိ သိက္ခဝေ သိက္ခုဟိ သိက္ခုနိယော ဥပသမ္ပဒေတုံ”- ဟူသော ဤပညတ်တော်သည်---	This declaration, namely “ <i>Anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhuniyo upasampādetum</i> .”-
30	၁၄ သိက္ခုနိဝိနိစ္ဆယစာတမ်း	14 The Document on Resolution about Bhikkhunīs
	ဧဒေ ဝဿာနိ ဆဿ ဓမ္မေသု သိက္ခိတသိက္ခာယ သိက္ခမာနာယ ဥဘတောသံဃေ ဥပသမ္ပဒိ ပရိယေသိတဗ္ဗာ၊ အယမ္ပိ ဓမ္မော သက္ကတွာ ဂရုကတွာ မာနေတွာ ပူဇေတွာ ယာဝဇီဝ အနုတိက္ကမနိယော”- ဟူသော ဆဋ္ဌဂရုဓမ္မပညတ်တော်ကို ထောက်၍ အနုပညတ်ဖြစ်သည်။ ထို့ကြောင့် ဂူဠဝဂ္ဂအဋ္ဌကထာ သိက္ခုနိနန္ဒက စာမျက်နှာ-၁၂၈-၌ -	It is a secondary declaration based on the great sixth <i>garudhamma</i> , namely “ <i>Dve vassāni chasu dhammesu sikkhitasikkāya sikkhamānāya ubhatosariṇhe upasampadā pariyesitabbā, ayampi dhammo sakkatvā garukatvā mānetvā pūjjetvā yāvajīvaṃ anatikkamanīyo</i> .” <sup>20</sup>
	“အနုဇာနဓိ သိက္ခဝေ သိက္ခုဟိ သိက္ခုနိယော ဥပသမ္ပဒေတုန္တိ ကုမာယ အနုပညတ္တိယာ သိက္ခု ပဉ္စသတာ သာကီယာနိယော မဟာပဇာပတိယာ သဒ္ဓိဝိဟာရိနိယော ကတွာ ဥပသမ္ပဒေသုံ၊	“ <i>Anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi bhikkhuniyo upasampādetuntī imāya anupaññātiyā bhikkhū pañcasatā sākinīyo mahāpajāpatiyā saddhivihārīniyo katvā upasampādesum</i> .” <sup>22</sup>
	ကုတိ တာ သဗ္ဗာဝိ ဧကတော ဥပသမ္ပန္နာ နာမ အဟေသုံ” - ဟု မိန့်တော်မူအပ်၏။	(The great elders who composed Commentaries) gracefully pronounced: “ <i>Iti tā sabbāpi ekato upasampannā nāma ahesum</i> .”
	အနက်။ ။ အနုဇာနဓိ သိက္ခဝေ သိက္ခုဟိ သိက္ခုနိယော ဥပသမ္ပဒေတုန္တိ -ဟူသော၊	Meaning: <i>anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi bhikkhuniyo upasampādetuntī</i> – namely (“Monks, I allow ordaining bhikkhunīs by monks.”),
	ကုမာယ အနုပညတ္တိယာ- ဤ အနုပညတ်ဖြင့်၊ သိက္ခု- ရဟန်းယောက်ျားတို့သည်၊	<i>Imāya anupaññātiyā</i> – by this secondary declaration, <i>bhikkhū</i> – male monks,
	ပဉ္စသတာ သာကီယာနိယော- ငါးရာသော သာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးတို့ကို၊ မဟာပဇာပတိယာ-မဟာပဇာ ပတိ(ဂေါတမီ)၏။	<i>Pañcasatā sākinīyo</i> – the five hundred Sakyan princesses (in accusative case), <i>mahāpajāpatiyā</i> – of Mahā Pajāpati [Gotamī],
	သဒ္ဓိဝိဟာရိနိယော-ဥပဇ္ဈာယယူအတူနေတပည့်မတို့ကို။ ကတွာ-ပြု၍၊	<i>Saddhivihārīniyo</i> – the disciples who took (Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī) as (their) preceptor; <i>katvā</i> – having made
	ဥပသမ္ပဒေသုံ-မြင့်မြတ်သော ရဟန်းမ အဖြစ်သို့ ရောက်စေကြကုန်ပြီ၊ (ဝါ) ပဉ္စင်းခံ ဖေးကြကုန်ပြီ၊	<i>Upasampādesum</i> - made (the princesses) come to the noble state of bhikkhunī (or) well ordained (them) as bhikkhunīs,
	ကုတိ-ဤသို့၊ တာသဗ္ဗာဝိ-ထို အလုံးစုံသော ငါးရာသော သာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးတို့သည်လည်း၊	<i>Iti</i> – thus, <i>tāsabbāpi</i> – all of those five hundred Sakyan princesses also
	ဧကတော-ဥပသမ္ပန္နာနာမ-သိက္ခုသံဃာတစ်ဖက်၌သာ မြင့်မြတ်သောရဟန်းမအဖြစ်သို့ ရောက်ကုန်သော ရဟန်းမတို့ မည်သည်၊ အဟေသုံ-ဖြစ်ကုန်ပြီ။	<i>Ekato-upasampannānāma</i> – means (that they were) bhikkhunīs who came to the noble state of bhikkhunī only by single sided <i>bhikkhu saṅgha</i> , <i>ahesum</i> - they were
31	သိက္ခုနိဝိနိစ္ဆယစာတမ်း ၁၅	The Document on Resolution about Bhikkhunīs 15
	ဤအဋ္ဌကထာပါဌ်၏ ဆိုလိုရင်းအဓိပ္ပါယ်ကား--	As for the explanation of the meaning in this Commentarial text -

<sup>18</sup> This is apparently the first occasion when the Buddha declares an offence which is different for monks than for bhikkhunīs. An interesting Burmese proverb is notable here. It is a proverb well known among Burmese monks, which attempts to explain the remarkable difference between the bhikkhu Vinaya and bhikkhunī Vinaya to the common people: “ဝိနည်းမှာ နွားသီးငါးကျပ် နွားမငါးကျပ်လုပ်လို့မရ။” [Winee hmar nwar-hti-ngar-kyat nwar-ma-nga-kyat lote-lo mayar.] = “In Vinaya it is not possible to make a bull worth five penny and a cow worth five penny as well.” I.e. the attitude to women (bhikkhunīs) in Vinaya cannot be the same as is toward men (bhikkhus), and nobody (perhaps apart from the Buddha) can decide to make it so.

<sup>19</sup> = “Monks, I allow ordaining bhikkhunīs by monks.” (Because this statement is key element of the bhikkhunī topic, I am not going to translate it again. I would like to encourage the reader to make a mental note for this place, or a bookmark, so that he/she can refer to this translation later if needed.)

<sup>20</sup> The trained *sikkhamāna* who trained in the six rules for whole two years shall seek the ordination as bhikkhunī at the dual Saṅgha.

<sup>21</sup> This reference is fully worded, it refers us to the Pāḷi scripture in Burmese characters. The PTS equivalent is 6.1291.

<sup>22</sup> The meaning of this Pāḷi statement will be elaborated below, by the main translated text.

"ဧဋ္ဌ ဝဿာနိ ဆဿ ဓမ္မေသု သိက္ခိတသိက္ခာယ (ပ) အနုတိက္ကမနိယော"- ဟူသော ဥပသောဥပသမ္ပန္နပညတ်သည် အနုပုဉ္ဏ ပညတ်ဖြစ်သည်။	The declaration of dual higher ordination, namely " <i>dve vassāni chasu dhammesu sikkhitasikkhāya (...) anatikkamaniyo</i> " is a declaration has not been declared ( <i>/</i> "arisen"). <sup>23</sup>
"အနုဇာနဓိ ဘိက္ခဝေ ဘိက္ခုဟိ ဘိက္ခုနိယော ဥပသမ္ပာဒေတုံ"- ဟူသော ဧကတောဥပသမ္ပန္နပညတ်သည် အနုပညတ် ဖြစ်သည်။	The declaration of single (sided) higher ordination, namely " <i>anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi bhikkhuniyo upasampādetum</i> " is a secondary declaration.
"အနုဇာနဓိ ဘိက္ခဝေ ဘိက္ခုဟိ ဘိက္ခုနိယော ဥပသမ္ပာဒေတုံ"- ဟူသော ဤအနုပညတ်ဖြင့် ရဟန်းယောက်ျားတို့သည် သာကီဝင် မင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့ကို မဟာပဇာတိ (ဂေါတမီ)၏ သဒ္ဓိဝိဟာရိနီ တပည့်များပြု၍ ပဉ္စင်းခံပေးကြသည်။	By this secondary declaration, namely " <i>Anujānāmi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi bhikkhuniyo upasampādetum</i> " the male monks ordained the five hundred Sakyan princesses after (they) made (them) disciples <sup>24</sup> of Mahā Pajāpati (Gotamī).
ဤသို့ ထိုအားလုံးသော သာကီမင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့သည် ဘိက္ခုသံဃာတစ်ဖက်၌သာ ရဟန်းမ ဖြစ်ကြသည့် ဧကတော ဥပသမ္ပန္နဘိက္ခုနီများ ဖြစ်ကြပြီ။	Thus all of those five hundred Sakyan princesses became bhikkhunīs ordained only by single (sided) higher ordination by only single (sided) <i>bhikkhu saṅgha</i> .
မြတ်စွာဘုရားသည် ဂရုဓမ္မရှစ်ပါးကို ပညတ်တော်မူရာ၌ ဆဋ္ဌဂရုဓမ္မဖြင့် ဥပသောဥပသမ္ပန္နဘိက္ခုနီ အဖြစ်ကို ကြိုတင်၍ ခွင့်ပြုပညတ်ပြီးဖြစ်သော်လည်း	Although (the Buddha) has already allowed and declared the dual higher ordination in advance, when the Nobly Lord gracefully declared the eight <i>garudhammās</i> ,
သာကီဝင်မင်းသမီးငါးရာတို့ ရဟန်းမ ပြုရာအခါ၌ ဘိက္ခုနီ သံဃာမပေါ်ပေါက်သေးသော ကြောင့် ဤဘိက္ခုဧကတောဥပသမ္ပန္န ဘိက္ခုနီအဖြစ်ကို အနုပညတ်အဖြစ်ဖြင့် ခွင့်ပြုပညတ်တော်မူသည်ဟု ဆိုလိုသည်။	Because the bhikkhunī saṅgha has not yet appeared, at the time when the five hundred Sakyan princesses were ordained as bhikkhunīs (the Buddha) gracefully permitted and declared by a secondary declaration the state of bhikkhunī (by) the single (sided) higher ordination (done) by monks.
ပါစိတုပဒိယောဇနာ (စာမျက်နှာ-၅၃၇)၌လည်း-	Also in <i>Pācityādiyojanā</i> (page 537) <sup>25</sup>
"ဣမာယ အနုပညတ္တိယာတိ မဟာပဇာတိယာ အဋ္ဌဂရုဓမ္မပဋိဂ္ဂဟာကုပသမ္ပန္န ဥပနိဇာယ အယံ ပညတ္တိ အနုပညတ္တိနာမ၊ တာယ အနုပညတ္တိယာ ဥပသမ္ပာဒေတုန္တိ အတ္ထော"-	" <i>Imāya anupāṇīṇattiyāti mahāpajāpatiyā aṭṭhagarudhammapaṭiggahaṇūpasampadam upanidhāya ayaṃ paṇīṇatti anupāṇīṇatti nāma, tāya anupāṇīṇattiyā upasampādetunti attho</i> " <sup>26</sup> -

<sup>23</sup> I.e. the declaration (rule) that both monks and bhikkhunīs will ordain bhikkhunīs, that has not yet been declared at the time when the Buddha allowed monks to ordain bhikkhunīs. (I think the meaning here of "declaration" (*paṇīṇatti*) is a specific declaration pronounced by the Buddha for monks, not the eight *garudhammās* which were in fact pronounced for the women and bhikkhunīs.)

<sup>24</sup> The Burmese text here literally states "*saddhivihārinī* female disciples". The meaning of *saddhivihārinī* as "female disciple" is of course taken from the Sub-Commentaries. Elsewhere *saddhivihārinī* also means "co-resident". The meaning of this word has great effect on this sentence. In my own opinion, if *saddhivihārinī* was understood as "co-resident", it would make much more sense here. Taking *saddhivihārinī* as "disciple" looks very awkward here, because we see no mention of the Buddha giving an order that Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī should be a preceptor, or that the five hundred Sakyan women should be her disciples. Moreover, how come that a totally new monastic would be suddenly promoted to a preceptor, even though she has no knowledge or experience whatsoever of being a nun (!) . In the Vinaya Sub-Commentary called "*Pācityādiyojanā*" (*Vinayapīṭaka (Tīkā) - Cūlavaggaṃyojanā - 10. Bhikkhunikkhandhakam - Pācityādiyojanāpāli - Bhikkhunīupasampadānūjānanakathā*) we get the mention that Mahā Pajāpati Gotamī was really made a preceptor:

"*Mahāpajāpatiyā saddhivihārinīyo katvāti mahāpajāpatim upajjham katvā pañcasatā sākiyāniyo tassā saddhivihārinīyo katvāti attho.*" = "After making (the Sakyan women) disciples (*/saddhivihārinīyo*) of Mahā Pajāpati," (that) means that Mahā Pajāpati was made a preceptor (*/upajjho*) and (then) the five hundred Sakyan women were made her disciples (*/saddhivihārinīyo*)."

<sup>25</sup> This scripture, although available in the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā Tipiṭaka 4.0 program, is apparently not yet available in Roman script by PTS. In the Vipassanā Research Institute's edition the equivalent to the Burmese page is 2.172. Chapter reference is: *Vinayapīṭaka (Tīkā) - Cūlavaggaṃyojanā - 10. Bhikkhunikkhandhakam - Pācityādiyojanāpāli - Bhikkhunīupasampadānūjānanakathā*.

<sup>26</sup> "By this secondary declaration, based on the higher ordination through Mahā Pajāpati's acceptance of the eight *garudhammās* (*aṭṭhagarudhammapaṭiggahaṇūpasampadam*), this declaration (namely "monks, I allow ordaining bhikkhunīs by monks") is secondary declaration. It means that by that secondary declaration (the monks) gave higher ordination (to the Sakyan women)."